1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820–1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

1: Cohen E-4.5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Sitting and listening to a group of these young men discussing matters of interest one is struck by the similarities and the differences in their lives as compared to similar groups in western society. Like young men everywhere they discussed the merits of various occupations, the economic returns, the power and prestige to be gained from one or the other type of job, and so on. Unlike their counterparts in western society, they also spend a great deal of time discussing the qualities of "the big men" in Bornu and the benefits received by loyal followers of these men. They are keenly aware, or try to be, of whose fortunes are rising and falling among the big men and listen with great interest to some new tidbit of information to this effect. Like their counterparts elsewhere teenagers learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble, and drink alcoholic beverages during this period. School boys also learn western table manners and take periodic meals in the places that serve western style food.

One of the most important features of a Kanuri boy's adolescence is his choice of training for an occupation. All young boys learn the fundamentals of farming in the households of their youth since almost all compound heads in Bornu, except some in the city, have farms. In some rural villages boys will learn nothing else but farming and probably remain farmers all their lives. On the other hand the majority of Kanuri boys learn another occupation which they will practice during the dry season or the non-farming season. For most boys the choice is determined ahead of time by the elders of the household, or by the economic specializations in their own vicinity. For example, one boy whose father is a salt retailer and who lives with his father in the ward of the dyers has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households. In general boys are expected to take up the occupation of their fathers unless they or their parents have strong desires and an opportunity to do something else. There is much evidence to show that in making the decision the wishes of the young boys were taken into account. Thus one young man remarked that he would never comply with his father's desire that he become a butcher. Instead he started to work with his father's younger brother in the nearby compound and is learning to be a trader in hides and skins. Today a large range of new occupations is opening up; modernization has served to accelerate this degree of freedom simply because there are many more occupations and a wider range of potential income.

Kanuri occupations other than farming usually involve some apprenticeship, especially for young boys. Such training varies with the kind of job being learned, with the age of the boy, and with the nature of the relationship between the boy and the man teaching him the occupation. If an occupation has a higher status or there is an expectation of high income or prestige associated with it, the person doing an apprenticeship must expect a longer training period in return for having been admitted into an advantageous position. Thus truck drivers who make a comparatively high income demand a fee besides three to five years of service from the person taken on as an apprentice. Butchers occupy a low-status position in the society, but they can also earn fairly good incomes and therefore they, too, claim longer than usual apprenticeship. As the boy becomes older, it is expected that his training period will become shorter, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun, the longer the education. This simply reflects Kanuri recognition of the more rapid learning that comes with age.

The terms of the relationship are dictated by the boy and his immediate

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

of this system, these will become clear since many of them are still essentially related to the household. Within the household there are individual producers who may sometimes maintain independent or semi-independent economic activities from others in the household. Again, above the household level there are often groups of households whose members, or more often whose household heads, are linked together in common economic activities. Finally in the traditional system there is the market place and its relationship to the household and to other markets. Outside of this set of interrelated units, but articulated with them, are the modern activities provided for by the government and the large commercial enterprises that have been in Bornu now for nearly half a century.

The Household as an Economic Unit

Most Kanuri households have from three to ten people living inside the compound walls. As we have seen, each person, except small children, has his or her own sleeping hut, and the major group in the household is generally a family. In the larger cities, especially the capital of Maiduguri, larger households are more common and often household heads rent out a sleeping hut or two to strangers who live semi-independently from the rest of the household. As households change through time their members, and most importantly their male members, both kin and nonkin clients, move out and establish their own residences either close by or some distance away. Whether or not they maintain close contacts with their former compound head depends to a large extent on the economic relationships being established and maintained or broken when the independent residence is set up.

The division of labor within the household depends for the most part on the sex and age of its members. The women cook, draw water for the household, help on the farm if they are not in seclusion, raise garden crops in the compound, thresh, pound and grind grain, sweep and clean the compound, tend the young children, keep chickens and ducks, and engage in petty trade, usually of a retail nature. Some women specialize in creating the elaborate Kanuri women's coiffure. Others make pots, while still others make baskets, and a few are professional entertainers who work with male drummers and praise-singers. Generally, however, these specialized activities are not common, and most men when asked about their wives claim they have no occupation besides that of being a housewife. The major tasks then are cooking and preparing food, helping on the farm, and raising children. In all these jobs younger girls help out and are under the authority of the older women who organize this work in the compound.

Men engage in politics, farm, dye, build, work metals, tan animal hides, work leather, buy, sell and slaughter cattle and smaller livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats and musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as laborers. They are also religious specialists, barbers, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants, and hold a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin as well as being tax payers. It is no exaggeration to say that the economy is controlled almost totally by men. The household head dispenses all incoming cash and kind resulting from craft or farm work, although a woman may keep and do as she pleases with the proceeds of her small garden inside the compound. The household head doles out

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

been told of many political leaders who rubber stamp decisions about land transfer, simply registering the fact and witnessing its legality. In some cases, however, there is interference, and it is generally discovered when this happens that there have been some previous difficulties in the owner's relationship to the political leader.

Farm plots are generally used for periods of four to eight years. Then they are allowed to lie fallow for about the same length of time. Everyone in the community knows a fallow field and its owner, and there would be trouble if someone tried to use one of these without the owner's permission. If fallow land is unused because the owner has moved away or has given up farming, then the land reverts to the common disposal of the community as a whole. The political leader can then allot these lands to newcomers or other community members, although he would generally be careful to check claims on them by previous owners and their relatives before doing this.

In summary, from the point of view of the people themselves, there are four different kinds of land around a Kanuri village. First, there is land owned outright by the household head over which he has complete authority. Secondly, there is land that has been cleared by a household head or that he was given the right to use by his local leader and which may become totally his or that of his heirs after long years of use and/or inheritance. Thirdly there is resting land, which is a farm plot that has been in use but whose depleted soil the owner will likely use again. If he moves away without trying to dispense with any of these plots then they revert to free land. Finally, there is free unused land around the settlement that can be used for newcomers or those trying to expand their holdings. As far as ownership is concerned, about sixty percent of all land in Magumeri was obtained through inheritance. The remaining forty percent was almost all new land cleared outside the present circumference of farm plots in which the plots had been registered with the village head whose permission had been granted. The important thing to remember about this system is that it works. Litigation over land in Magumeri had to do mostly with what we call "trespassing." People were brought to the courts because they (usually their livestock) had infringed on someone's right to land. There was very little difficulty in general over transfers. People knew what rights were held and how they could transfer these rights to others.

Except for the few farmers who produce either specialized crops like yams or tobacco and then market them, most Kanuri have a dry season occupation such as craftwork, trade, or a service occupation such as native doctoring or barbering. These they view as an occupation, while farming, unless it is the only specialty carried out, is viewed as an important side line. As we have seen in the chapter on the life cycle, recruitment into an occupation is carried on by an apprenticeship system within the household organization. This is even the case for some western types of occupation such as truck driving, and it only recedes in importance when western type schooling is involved.

Traditionally, occupations in Bornu have been organized under head men in each settlement and under an overall head man for the entire occupation who lived in the capital city. Today the traditional occupations such as blacksmith, leather worker, butcher, and so on still have such an organization, although the privileges and duties of a head man are very few and do not extend beyond his local settlement. Nevertheless, men in Magumeri who are butchers, blacksmiths or dyers, and

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

so on, report that if they visit the capital of Maiduguri they often go to pay their respects to the Maiduguri head of their own occupation. People felt that rural heads of occupations should always do this, and everyone else should try to do it now and then. Local heads of occupations, no matter where they live, usually do have some privileges. Thus in larger villages and cities, the head butcher has one day a week, not market day, on which his meat alone is sold in villages. In Magumeri the head butcher receives a small commission on all hides and skins sold by the village's butchers.

Very often those in similar occupations live close to one another within a village, and some small hamlets are made up of people devoted almost exclusively to one craft activity. This reflects the fact that sons tend to settle in the vicinity of their fathers especially when they take up the same occupation. Since this is also true of many clients and apprentices, who are non-kin, it is often quite normal to see a hamlet or a ward of a larger village composed of people most of whom practice the same dry season activity.

In analytical terms almost all of Kanuri craft production is characterized by simple technology, cottage industry organization in the same household or a group of closely related households, and by its interrelations with regional and even international competition. Let us go over these points one by one.

Only the simplest tools are required to produce everything made in Bornu, and the materials for these can often be obtained locally. Methods of production are slow and laborious. For example, an ordinary blacksmith working at home, as they all do, can make from three to five hoes a day; or a dyer working over his dye vat can color five or six robes in a busy day with no disturbances. A potter makes from ten to twenty pots a week, depending upon the type of pots being turned out. Compared to the productivity of more industrialized workers in Africa itself or other parts of the world, such outputs are almost infinitesimal. Production itself is almost always carried on in small groups located inside the household of a craftworker. In this sense Bornu craft production is of the cottage industry type. Sometimes a group of craftsmen work together in their own ward of the town, especially when the group includes a number of agnatically related kinsmen among its members. This means that a craftsman spends his working hours at home or close by in a neighbor's household, and these neighbors are often close kin. In some special cases craft work is organized along some other lines. Thus the blind people, who often live together in a ward of their own, produce rope and then sell it in one section of the market. It is an occupation that can be practiced by the blind and affords them some means of livelihood in the community.

Unlike food production in which the Bornu area provides almost everything they require in the way of staples, Kanuri crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. Thus iron for blacksmiths, dyes for clothes, paper, textiles, or glass beads have always come from outside Bornu. Furthermore there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other parts of the Sudan. This works both ways so that Bornu knives are accepted and coveted items in many markets all over the Sudan, while leather work from Kano can be seen all over Bornu and is always in high demand. On a more local level in a small village like Magumeri, craftwork from other villages almost always finds its way into the local market to compete with items produced in Magumeri. Such openness means that

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438 craftsmen must sustain any and all competition from the import of goods into Ni-
439 geria. Thus native weaving has almost disappeared, as it has been unable to withstand the onslaught of milled cotton cloth from Europe and Japan.

434 Given the household nature and low productivity of most craft production in Bornu, it is interesting to ask whether many households can sustain themselves by relying on the proceeds. In rural Magumeri and surrounding villages craftsmen estimated their earnings per week from craftwork in both the dry and the wet seasons. When we compared these figures to the expenses of these same households in terms of food, clothing, ceremonies, taxes and so forth, we found that craftwork most often provides for about forty to fifty percent of the household expenses on an annual basis. In other words for rural producers craftwork is an important source of income but does not provide for the household's entire economic needs.
434 This is why almost all Kanuri outside the capital city are farmers *and* blacksmiths,
463 or farmers *and* calabash makers, or farmers *and* dyers, etc. On the other hand three kinds of people in rural Magumeri and its surrounding villages invariably get most of their income from non-farming activities. These are the political specialists or those connected by salary to the native administration, to a lesser extent the religious specialists, and to a still lesser extent many of the traders. These men tend to get higher cash incomes than the ordinary peasant craftsmen and thus do less farming.

433 When Kanuri craftsmen estimate why their productivity in household crafts
464 goes up or down, they give a number of reasons, but the one that comes up over
463 and over again concerns the loss or gain of helpers who either live in the house-
592 hold or close by. In other words the number of wives, followers, clients, sons, and
592 so on that a craftsman can depend upon to help him is in their view the largest de-
571 terminant of productivity for craft enterprise.

By way of illustration let us look at a couple of cases so that we can see some of these generalizations as they apply to the lives of the people themselves.

463 KA'ANAMI, THE CALABASH MAKER Ka'anami lives in a compound with
592 four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his younger brother (same father,
159 same mother), and his father's older sister. The compound, although fully enclosed with grass mat walls, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, has his own farm plot on which he grows ground-nuts for cash, and he makes a few calabashes now and then. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given cooked food by the old woman. He used to help his father a great deal more than he does now but he still contributes now and then to both his father's and his brother's farm labor. He is doing much less of this at present and is instead contemplating marriage. He is discussing this with his brother who relays the information to their father. This involves the possibility of setting up his own household close by. Dolo still runs messages for his father and like Ka'anami feels that his father is head of a group of contiguous households within their ward of the village. Ka'anami has a "far-farm" or bush farm about three quarters of a mile south of Magumeri and three "house-farm" plots close to the hamlet of Fulongo, about two miles south of Magumeri, where he and his father used to live before the entire family moved to Magumeri. He generally harvests from twelve to fourteen bags of millet which he stores, and four to five bags of ground-nuts which he sells for cash.

To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the ex-

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond $150 to $200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together. The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

1: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1965) 1967 MS14 Kanuri MS14

ally about once a month, a beef-cow or bull. During the wet season he kills about one or two beef cattle a week. He sells the meat by strips and a very rough estimate of his income from the meat and the sale of the skin comes to approximately $450 per year. Most of the townspeople of Magumeri think of Mala Bukar as one of the wealthiest of the village's permanent residents, leaving aside the salaried officials sent out from the city who have been posted to Magumeri. However, both as we observed it, and as Mala Bukar claimed repeatedly, people begged meat from him continually for which he never received any money. In four weeks of almost continous observation I estimated he lost about ten percent of his meat this way, although he claimed it was often much higher, ranging up to forty percent on occasion. Everyone agrees that that is the price of wealth, for the Kanuri believe that the proper use of wealth is its distribution to one's dependents and to the community at large in order that one may achieve fully the acclaim and prestige that wealth confers. If Mala Bukar hoarded his earnings to buy more animals and obtain more apprentices and thus increase his productivity, people would see him as a foolish man who was using his wealth unproductively. Kanuri wealth should be used to enhance and maintain status, and status is achieved through supporting and creating subordinates by giving away wealth.

Distribution

Kanuri households do not produce everything they consume and thus of necessity must obtain what they need from other sources in the community. Wives are given market money weekly by their husbands to purchase ingredients for gruel as well as for their own needs. The household head, on his part, must purchase grain when his own supplies are short as well as clothing and supplies such as tools or firewood for the entire compound. Things made, produced, or purchased for trade by the household members must be sold or exchanged in order to obtain necessities not produced within the compound. This is the basic quality in Bornu out of which stems an elaborate and complicated system of trade that provides for the distribution of goods and services to those who need them, when they need them, in quantities they can afford.

Almost all households in rural Bornu, and many in the city as well, have two main marketing tasks. First the cash crop, most often ground-nuts, must be sold, and secondly the specialized production or services provided by the household must be made available to the community. Let us go over each of these briefly and then move into the market cycle itself to see how the system operates as a whole.

During the harvest season from November to January men from the city appear at every major market village in Bornu. They bring scales with them and set up temporary huts close to the nearest motor road. When a household head harvests the crop, he takes it to these "scale men" and sells it by the bag. Government inspectors are on hand to check the scales daily and the quality of the nuts as well. The scale men generally bring cloth and other import items with them so that when a householder gets his cash he can spend some of it immediately thus giving the buyer a little extra profit. For the householder this may be the largest single payment

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643 bodied in his title, "commander of the faithful," and is expressed ritually in a number of ways. Thus at the feast celebrating the end of Ramadan (the annual Muslim fast), a special ram of the Shehu is killed by the chief religious leader of the state. No one considering himself a citizen of the emirate and a subject of the Shehu is supposed to kill his own ram for the feast day until the royal ceremony is completed.

643 644 At all annual festivals and state occasions, and every Friday to a lesser extent, the Shehu is attended at his palace by his court and representatives of the people. The court includes members of the royal family, title holders, the Native Authority council members, and any district heads who may be in the capital or their city representatives who sit outside the royal courtroom. Into the royal presence come representatives of each Native Authority department, representatives of the religious leaders of the community, a sample of school children, leaders and representatives of the various occupational groupings under their own headmen. Each group gives symbolic pledges of loyalty and obedience to the throne by saying prayers for the health and welfare of the monarch and the state. The people, including the nobles, go down on their knees to the monarch, stand when he stands, remove their shoes in his presence, and speak to him only indirectly using terms of reverence and respect.

64 It is difficult to assess what real power the Shehu has in the emirate government. The present incumbent is a very old man, and for the last decade or so the bulk of administrative affairs have been handled by the Native Authority Council under the direction of the Waziri. Whether this now indicates a trend toward constitutional monarchy or whether a new, younger and more vigorous Shehu would reassert the power of the throne is a question that is fascinating but at present not capable of being answered. Certainly the Native Authority Council and the various departments under the council are new and growing powers in the contemporary society, but the district heads are formally responsible to the Shehu. Since the district heads are still very powerful members of the political system, a new Shehu could conceivably affect policy and the administration of the emirate very considerably through his influence on these men and their appointments. It is also very possible that he would influence the Native Authority Council itself and appointments to that body. Potentially the office is a very powerful one, and it seems unlikely that its power will diminish in future since the instruments of power are available to anyone occupying the throne who wishes to use them.

647 [631] [648] The main business of government of the emirate is handled on a day-to-day basis in the Native Authority departments, which are coordinated with similar departments in other emirates of the province under the Bornu Provincial Government which in its turn looks to the Regional Government of Northern Nigeria for policy directives that are regional in scope.

647 463 [565] [177] The personnel of the Native Authority departments form what has come to be called a new class in the society. They are salaried bureaucrats who work in offices and generally have some form of western education. They wear wrist watches, read English and vernacular newspapers, listen to the radio for both local, national, and international news, go to political meetings, join civil service associations, and think of themselves as urban even when they are stationed in the rural

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areas. Their goals are almost universally to obtain more qualifications and to advance in the civil service to higher paid jobs with more authority and prestige.

Recruitment into the departments can be carried out in a variety of ways. An application can be sent to the Native Authority Council or the relevant departments in writing. People seem to think this is not an effective way of obtaining a position, and it is rarely practiced. Another way is to obtain new recruits from among the school graduates of the secondary schools. This is becoming more and more common as time goes on, however it is a highly impersonal technique and thus not attractive to many in the community who still feel that they must have some private, personal relationship with their superiors-to-be before they can obtain any rewards for themselves. Thus it is widely believed that such personal relationships are the primary requisite to enlistment in the civil service, given that the educational qualifications are satisfactory. Thus one young man working in the Native Authority civil service explained it this way:

647 557

> If you want a job in the . . . department, one of your relatives should find the name of a person in the department who is known to help people. Your relative then goes to greet him in the evening and gives him some money and perhaps other gifts. The man who can help then tells your relative to come back at such and such a time and he will let him know the result. Then he will try to find a job in the department, probably by using some of the money your relative gave him. Then the job is yours and you are an employee of the Native Authority . . . sometimes it takes a long time.

Certainly young boys with higher educational qualifications have less difficulty obtaining jobs, but as the educational system increases the numbers of its graduates at upper levels, then places in the Native Authority will become less available, and so this particular method of recruitment will in all likelihood remain for some time to come.

The emirate civil service departments have two standards that employees must maintain at all costs. First, they must be competent at their job, and the leaders of the emirate are always interested in raising such levels. Job re-training schemes, and trips by senior department members to other parts of Nigeria or even overseas are becoming more and more common. Secondly, there must be loyalty and obedience to the department. This is traditional and involves the same kind of behavior we have observed in all community relationships involving superiors and subordinates, starting with the household and moving out into the society as a whole. However departments are too large for very intimate contacts and some of the impersonality of modern bureaucracy has entered to make relations somewhat unpredictable. One young man complained that in his department it is essential to dress less well than one's superior or one would be considered overly ambitious, threatening, and untrustworthy. On the other hand it is also important not to dress too poorly or people in authority would consider one a wastrel who spends his money on women, praise-singers, and drink. Again it is, according to many of the younger men, difficult to transfer from one department to another. To transfer, a formal application must be made to one's own department superiors and to the Native Authority Council; if a release is granted, then a further application to some other department can be submitted. Those reporting this procedure said it was

647 462

647 486 571 576

To the immediate west of the Kanuri are the Hausas over whom the Kanuri once ruled. Signs of the early relationship between Hausa and Kanuri are still in evidence. The Hausa chief of Zinder, a large city in Niger north of Kano, still sent gifts to the Shehu of Bornu as a mark of allegiance upon being appointed to office by the French authorities. The Shehu in British Nigeria then sent him in return a ceremonial robe of office.

The Fulani have continued to infiltrate into Bornu and are numerous in the western sections of the province. In similar fashion, the Shuwa Arabs have in recent times been moving into Bornu from the east. The Shuwa represent the westernmost penetration of the Arabic-speaking African peoples. They are found concentrated in the southeastern sections of Bornu, in the region of Bama and Dikwa. Both the Fulani and the Shuwa are semi-nomadic pastoralists, living in a partially symbiotic relation with the agricultural Kanuri.

3. The Resistant Groups.

The Cameroon highlands, sixty miles southeast of Bama, remain the outpost of pagan peoples. The people of the Gwoza hills, one of the last "unpacified" areas in all Nigeria, still continue to resist their Moslem neighbors of the plains, as they had throughout the slave raiding of the Bornu empire. Some seventy thousand people, comprising a number of tribes and speaking several languages, live in the secure isolation of their mountain stronghold, resisting equally the penetration

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent
871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and
555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,
political advancement under the current system demands a cer-
[177] tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: it is necessary
[182] to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of
463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary
[874] school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides
[554] and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly
[871] meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
[555] erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-
lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these
Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often
the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments
as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.
Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

671 779 692 and here the spirit of the Koran is the guide to proper behavior.

[171] In the area of formal law, the Kanuri follow the same legal school prevalent throughout the Western Sudan--the Maliki legal school. Maliki law covers criminal law, rules of evidence, procedure, sentencing, property rights, contracts between individuals, law of marriage and divorce, inheritance and numerous other areas. Formal courts exist in Bornu, pre-
[693] sided over by Kanuri Alkalis, or judges. The Alkali begins his training, like so many Kanuri boys, by study of the Koran with a Malam. He completes his training, at present, in the Legal School at Kano. Islamic law in Northern Nigeria falls within the general area of "Native Law and Custom."

3. Education.

871 779 Education, as the Kanuri understand it, means studying the Koran. From about the age of six, both boys and girls are
[563] sent to a Malam to learn to pray. Every village has someone who can perform this minimum function, but only the towns have
[562] Malams. It is sufficient for a girl to memorize the prayers,
[565] and most boys proceed no further. However, parents who have greater aspirations for their sons, generally sons from upper class homes, will send their sons to live in the house of a Malam and study with him. Occasionally boys who show aptitude in their studies will be sent on to a more important Malam to
876 779 continue their studies. Under the tutelage of the Malam, the

369 632 121 characteristics of the folk society; individuals are specialists of one sort or another; the towns are centers of government at the district level; and stratification rather than social homogeneity characterizes their populations. In this sense it is important to distinguish between Kanuri culture in its urban manifestations and Kanuri culture in the rural villages. These two types of community exemplify two concomitant variants of Kanuri culture. Since there is no sharp line of demarcation indicating at which point a village turns into a town, the distinctions made here are seen to shade imperceptibly into one another. At their extremes, however, the differences are considerable.

621 [622] Probably the bulk of the populace live in villages of less than 1,000 people. A Lowan, or more typically a Bulama in the smaller village, is the appointed political head of the village. [463] There is little or no specialization, and everybody farms and depends entirely on the products of his agricultural labors. [622] The Bulama lives at the same level as the rest of the village. He may own a horse, and his household may be slightly larger, [565] but he works in the fields as does everyone else. One man may be slightly wealthier than his neighbor, and may own several sheep and goats, but social classes do not exist. Villages are [595] divided into compounds, within which a family lives. By and [593] large, men in the villages have but a single wife, and she and 342 her children will live within the compound walls. In the villages, the compound walls are of woven mats (saggi). The houses are almost entirely of the round-walled, thatched-roof type.

632 565 342 556 town is a square flat-roofed house built entirely of mud bricks, with an adobe veneer and turreted roof decoration.

361 Blocks of contiguous compounds, with their entrance-ways facing out onto the streets, make up clusters which are similar to a city block. Streets are laid out on a grid pattern, [363] [492] some narrow and others wide thoroughfares. There is little vehicular traffic, but there is a fair amount of traffic made up of camels and donkeys used as pack animals, and men on horses.

632 [563] Wards may have different characters, especially in large towns with non-Kanuri populations, where different ethnic groups will all cluster in one ward. Wards are also often sub-divided [463] into neighborhoods. These take their character from a particular type of craft localized in a neighborhood, or a single group of tradesmen dealing in the same commodity whose compounds are found located in one neighborhood.

632 361 Every Kanuri town is built around a central plaza called the dandal. The dandal is a cleared area running east to west, faced with compounds and various public buildings on its north and south sides. The western border is frequently open. At the eastern end, with the dandal stretching out before it, is the entranceway to the compound of the Lowan or Ajia, the focal point of a Kanuri town. The entranceway of the Lowan or Ajia's [814] compound always faces west, into the setting sun. The palace of the Shehu in Maiduguri (the Shehuri) fronts on the great dandal; at its far end is one of the gates of the city.

ooo Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and

632 366 368 Two other foci of the Kanuri town are the market-place and the central mosque. The market-place is of course the center for all local trade, and on the particular market day of a town, activities center in the market, which is alive with people. On Friday, the central mosque, where people gather to pray, becomes the communal center. Throughout the week the compound of the Ajia (the Ajari), should the town be the administrative center of a district, is the focus of bureaucratic activity. In addition, activity centers around other public buildings: the court, the school, the dispensary, the public reading room, etc.

369 632 463 The three foci of the Kanuri town indicated above, the Ajari, the market-place, and the mosque, are of themselves strong arguments for the urban nature of the Kanuri town. Each is typically the center of an urban activity and urban occupations. The Ajia has, under him, a range of bureaucratic specialists: the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, the Department of Police, the school-teachers and dispenser. The mosque is representative of the various religious specialists: the Imam, and the many malams of the town. The market-place typifies commercial activity, which more than anything else is characteristic of urban life, with its various specialists in trade and in crafts.

E. Social Organization

611 171 182 Unlike the majority of African societies, the Kanuri do not have unilineal descent. As Meyer Fortes notes, "The more

592 369 There is still another way to become part of a large household. This is the most informal of the various sets of relationships, and is particularly characteristic of the larger towns and cities. In the villages, a man who is a talaka can always clear new land, farm industriously, marry, and establish 592 369 874 463 571 his own household. In the larger towns and cities, it is extremely difficult to make one's fortune without the help of some protector. Consequently it becomes imperative for a young man recently come to the city to find such a protector, and when he does he becomes part of that man's household. Craftsmen and traders form the bulk of the specialists in the towns and cities, but how is a young man to learn a trade, or to get his start in commerce? He does so by becoming attached to the household of a craftsman, a leather-worker or dyer, where he begins by performing menial tasks of various sorts and where he eventually learns that trade. Or he becomes part of the household of a wealthy trader, where once again he performs common household tasks until he has demonstrated his trustworthiness and his willingness to work hard. The master of the house will then begin to entrust him with increasingly more important tasks, until he becomes the trusted agent of his master, dealing in large sums of money and given important responsibilities. Throughout this time he is referred to as <u>tata njima</u>, son of the house. 592 609 571 In households made up of more than the simple nuclear family, tata njima form the largest single category of individuals. The relationship between tata njima and the komanzə fatobe is conceived of, and patterned after the kinship relationship between

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that
567 of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves
178 part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an im-
554 portant man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory
156 manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the im-
poverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

565 The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

565 But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The
369 primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban
554 talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in
[175] their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire
565 there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had
369 always been important in Bornu, and a class of important trad-
554 ers formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly,
463 the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and
[441] cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

565 Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and
554 so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

114 361 177 in the town proper, in a Kanuri house, since it was obviously impossible to live as all other Europeans did, more than a mile from the Kanuri people, surrounded by fellow White men.

1. Foci of Communal activity.

36 If an archeologist living centuries in the future were to excavate the ruins of Geidam, he would be able to establish from the physical characteristics of the community that this was undoubtedly an urban community, provided that he excavated with great care. He would find a large area, the market-place, devoted to trade; specialized structures devoted to religious activity, in particular the large central mosque; and others devoted to the government bureaucracy, the largest of these being the Ajari, the 'palace' of the District Head. In addition, he would note great differences in the size of dwelling places or compounds, and would infer that households varied widely in size; [463] this would imply social stratification. Lastly, there would be revealed economic specialization in different sections of the town, indicating the presence of specialized craftsmen. On the basis of solely physical evidence, Geidam would be considered an urban community.

This view is strengthened considerably if one looks at the activities of the people of Geidam. However, as we are still concerned with the physical nature of the community, let us first examine the activities of the townspeople in relation to the various sections of the town, which serve as foci of communal activity.

632 river. The compounds of several wealthy Hausa traders face the
[563] market-place in the western end of Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward. The
[463] butchers, who are almost all Hausa and have a Hausa head-man, are within Lowan Kolo Kolo's ward but fall under the jurisdiction of the Hausa Lowan.

632 563 The third ward making up the town of Geidam has only a sprinkling of Kanuri living there. It is the most populous ward of the three and is predominantly Hausa. Its Lowan is Serəkin Garba, a prominent member of the Hausa community. This ward has been growing most rapidly in recent years, and the direction of expansion has been south and west, where whole new sections have grown up. Along the western border of the town, stretching southward, live all the Ibos and Yorubas, Southern Nigerians and predominantly Christian, numbering several hundred.
[366] A string of small canteens run by Ibos and Yorubas faces the
[368] western border. In this ward is to be found the church for
[273] Christian members of the Geidam community, and the Charity Hotel where beer is sold.

632 563 Ethnic stratification is very marked in Geidam. All southerners, Ibos and Yorubas, live in the Hausa ward along with almost the entire Hausa population of Geidam. Only a scattering
632 563 167 of Hausas are found in the Kanuri wards. Within the Kanuri wards are found small clusters of other tribes, notably Bouzous and Dagara, serfs of the Tuareg who come down into the settled plains area to towns like Geidam, where they work at menial jobs for periods of time. When they have accumulated some money they re-

632 563 167 turn to their northern villages. A group of Bouzou work at camel transport, and live in a cluster near the slaughter-slab area. Another group of Bouzou work as water-carriers and come [162] to live in Geidam between agricultural seasons. They all, up to thirty in number, live in the compound of Lowan Ashek.

632 621 Lastly a group of pagans are to be found in a small hamlet called Koldi, about 400 yards northwest of the town proper. [162] There are forty-five households in Koldi, with a total popula- [622] tion of 134. Koldi has its own Bulama, but Lowan Ashek serves [651] as the Lowan of Koldi and is responsible for tax collection 632 there. The people of Koldi are largely pagan (kordi), and mem- 621 563 bers of the following tribes are found there: Banana, Kim, Ka- 177 bam, Ngizim, Kabalia, Mandara, Kotoko, Gwoza and Fulani. Most of these are tribes found east and south of the Shari River, whose people are pagan or partially Islamized. This is the shatter-belt area between the Empires of Bornu and those of [302] Mandara and Bagirmi. The women of Koldi all do their hair in the Kanuri manner, and the people of Koldi are strongly acculturated to the Kanuri. In fact many Kanuri are found living in [771] Koldi. They are characterized primarily by their lax attitude [275] towards Islam, and are considered pagan because they brew millet beer there. No beer is brewed in Geidam proper, so that Kanuri youths wishing to partake of the local brew are forced to slip [534] away unseen to Koldi. Drumming can constantly be heard in the 632 evenings from the direction of Koldi. The people of Koldi all 621 have farms of millet in the surrounding area, but in addition [243] [285] [463]

632 621 [248] [489] [503] [GEIDAM]

they specialize in the making of heavy reed mats (sogdis). Economic specialization along ethnic lines is a common characteristic of the area.

632 463 563 Several types of economic specialty have been mentioned for differing groups in the Geidam community. Each of these is found localized in a particular section of a ward, where those who practice that specialty are grouped. Ibos and Yorubas are small tradesmen in their section of the Hausa ward. Butchers are almost all Hausas, and are to be found clustered together in one ward. Bouzous are either water carriers or transporters who use camels, and each group is found localized in its area.

632 463 The people of Koidi make sogdis. Among the Kanuri proper, groups specializing in a single economic activity are also found living [732] together in a single localized neighborhood within one ward. For [283] example, the blind specialize in the making of rope, and live as [621] an organized sub-community in their quarter. They have their [622] own head, called the Kaigama, because he is to the Shehu of the blind, who lives in Maiduguri, as the real Kaigama is to the Shehu of Bornu. Other Kanuri craftsmen can be found localized [281] in particular sections. Tanners and dyers live in specific [285] [323] areas grouped around the tanning pits and the dying vats. Craftsmen who make the fine sitting mat (bəli), potters and well-diggers are localized in their own sections; other types of craftsmen, [441] however, are dispersed through the town. Many of the tradesmen [735] are also found clustered in particular neighborhoods. Beggars are found together, and, as has been noted, the Ajia's kabuna tend to live in one ward.

[GEIDAM]

241 634 [554] him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal farm close to Geidam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

241 693 4660

Table II

Percentage of people in Geidam who farm

241 463 565 554

	Yes	No	Farmed last year
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geidam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	2	2	1 did; 1 didn't
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geidam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geidam and pay taxes there

[GEIDAM]

are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

[GEIDAM]

The second category is the tradesmen. They depend less on a special craft ability than on their general skills in buying and selling at a profit. Through their knowledge of the operation of the economic system they assist in the distribution of goods, and earn their livelihood by taking for themselves a percentage of the value of goods which pass through their hands. The tradesmen and the craftsmen are two specialized groups within the social system of the town of Geidam whose activities are largely centered within the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The third category of specialists typically found in an urban community are specialists in maintaining the bureaucracy, and though there is an economic component to their activities, these fall more properly within a consideration of the political organization, so that discussion of the role of this group of specialists will be deferred.

Table III lists the major types of craftsmen found in Geidam, and notes in addition whether they are organized under a single head, whether they are localized in one section of the town, and the extent of their participation in the market. The seventeen types of craftsmen listed in Table III are all full-time specialists. They are highly skilled at their craft, and no Geidam man would attempt to perform for himself the services, or to manufacture the products, which the craftsmen supply. Eight crafts in Geidam are each organized under a single head. The head of a craft group such as the barbers, or the butchers, is appointed by the Ajia of Geidam and is given a kulugu as a mark of office.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 138]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14
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Table III

Major Types of Craftsmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In market: works	In market: sells
Barber	*			*	*	*
Blacksmith	*			*	*	*
Bəji-maker		*	*			*
Butcher	*		*		*	*
Calabash decorator		*		*		*
Dyer	*		*			
Fishermen	*			*		
House builder		*		*		
Leather-worker		*		*	*	*
Potter		*	*			*
Praise-singer	*		*			
Səgdi-maker		*	*			*
Sewing machine operator	*			*	*	*
Shoemaker		*		*		*
Tanner	*		*			*
Well-digger		*	*			
Wood-worker		*		*	*	*

[GEIDAM]

[GEIDAM]

463 His primary function is to adjudicate disputes between members
467 of his craft group. Some types of craftsmen are not represented in sufficient numbers in Geidam to warrant a head man. This is true, for example, of the house builders of Geidam, who are not organized under a head man, though in Maiduguri the house builders are so organized.

463 About half of the draftsmen live in neighborhoods where
467 that type of craft activity is localized. For some (butchers
621 and
[563] sogdi-makers), this is because their craft is linked to
[574] an ethnic group; for others it is because the physical practice of that craft demands the use of communal pits (tanners) or vats (dyers). Still others, however, cluster together in neighborhoods because of social factors which tend to bring them together so that they form an organized segment of the society; but many craftsmen live interspersed with other sorts of people throughout the town.

463 Most craftsmen are involved in the activities of the market-
443 place, where all those who deal with a product sell what they have made. Many also work in the market-place as well, and make their product to order for the waiting customer. Only the dyers, well-diggers, housebuilders, fishermen and praise-singers have no connection with the market. All of course also work outside of the market-place; in fact most of their work is done in the homes, where one can always go for any specialized aspect of their services.

463 Table IV lists a second category of craftsmen. These are

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 140]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

• W63
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Table IV

Less Specialised Craftsmen in the Gaidan Economy

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	In Market: works	In Market: sells
Beggars		•		•		
Charm sellers		•		•		•
Grooms		•		•		
Hair setters		•		•		
Hunters		•		•		
Transporters		•	•			
Water carriers		•	•			
Wood cutters		•	•			•

[GEIDAM]

463 distinguished from the first group of craftsmen included in Table III because of two factors: their craft requires less skill, and they are typically part-time specialists. As such, they fall mid-way between the craftsmen and the "talaka" of 463 Geidam who are not specialists at all. None of the less spe- 467 cialized craftsmen are organized under a head man. This is 493 because their skills are much less developed and because they have less to do with the market. The market itself is a highly organized institution, and most individuals who deal regularly in the market are organized into structured groups according to the type of activity in which they are engaged. As can be seen from Table IV, only the charm sellers and the wood cutters sell their products in the market; the remaining craftsmen sell their [621] services directly in the town. Only the transporters, the wa-- [563] ter carriers, and the wood cutters live in localized neighborhoods, and the first two specialities are practiced by distinct ethnic groups.

3. Tradesmen.

463 The second major category of economic specialists in the 441 town of Geidam is that of the tradesmen. They too are typically urban specialists who make their living through the distribution of goods, and since the town of Geidam is an important center for the exchange and marketing of goods, many of the townspeople devote themselves entirely to trade. Most are engaged in the buying and selling of a single commodity or group of related

463 441 commodities; some are wholesalers and others are retailers; some are very wealthy men dealing in large quantities of goods while others buy and sell small amounts and count their profits in pennies. Some, as will be seen, center their trade activities in the market-place; others are never involved in trade in the market, but do their buying and selling entirely in private homes or in canteens.

463 441 192 [452] The Kanuri recognize many distinctions in the types of trade in which one may be engaged. These distinctions are reflected in their vocabulary. Four general types of tradesmen are recognized: balaama (or ribama)--one who buys and sells at a profit (riba means profit), paying for the goods, which were originally obtained on credit, after the sale; sabarma--one who buys in one place, pays for his goods in cash, then takes them elsewhere and sells them at a profit (saber means trade); dileima--a broker or commission agent (dilel means commission). The dileima arranges sales between prospective buyer and prospective seller and takes his commission from one or the other, depending on who first contacted him, and for whom he is attempting to obtain the most favorable price. Lastly, the fatoma is a dileima who operates in a large town, from his house, as is indicated by the name fatoma (fato means house). People coming into town with goods to sell, primarily livestock, are accommodated in the fatoma's house while he seeks out prospective buyers, arranges for the sale at the best possible price, and takes a commission from the sale-price paid to his guest, the seller.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 142]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

441
963
L536
L43
[W2]

Table V

Major Types of Tradesmen in Geidam

	organized with head	not organized	live localized	live dispersed	sells in market	sells outside
Brokers:						
sell cows	*		*		*	*
sheep/goats	*		*		*	*
horses	*		*			*
Canteen operators		*		*		*
Gown sellers	*			*	*	
Grain sellers	*			*	*	*
Hide sellers	*		*		*	*
Kola nut sellers:						
wholesalers	*			*		*
retailers	*			*	*	*
Money-lenders		*		*		*
Peanut sellers		*		*		
Sundry sellers:						
traditional	*			*	*	
Western goods		*		*	*	
Tobacco-flower sellers	*			*	*	

[GEIDAM]

441 those of the head of a group of craftsmen. Ten of the fourteen
441 types of tradesmen are organized under a head man. Of the four
443 types who are not so organized, three are not involved in activities in the market-place, which supports the view put forth above, that the structure of the market itself is reflected in the organization of groups whose activities center there.. Five types of tradesmen have nothing at all to do with the market-place, and three of these are not organized with a head.
441 But a second related factor can be seen operating as well.
177 This is particularly apparent when one compares the two sorts of "sundry" sellers. One, the fɔtkema, sells only traditional Kanuri goods. The other, the tabɔrma, sells a variety of sorts of Western goods. Both sell in the market-place. The fɔtkema are organized under a head man; the tabɔrma are not organized. It would appear that tradesmen who deal in goods imported from the Western world tend not to be organized as a group with their own head. Turning once again to the four types of tradesmen who are not organized, the tabɔrma fall into this category, as do the canteen operators who are primarily engaged in trade with the European trading companies, and the peanut traders who buy up peanuts for sale to the trading companies.
[452] Money-lenders, the fourth unorganized type of tradesman, fall
[774] into a different category since they practice an illicit oc-
463 cupation, forbidden by Islamic law. The organization of groups
467 of urban specialists under a single head with quasi-political
441 authority to resolve disputes within the group would appear to
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463 be an element of traditional Kanuri culture. Most of these
467 specialists, craftsmen and tradesmen, are involved with the
441 market, an old Kanuri institution, but others are, and always
177 have been engaged in carrying on their trade outside of the
178 market. New types of craftsmen and tradesmen who are engaged in new sorts of activities which have been introduced into Kanuri culture as a result of contact with the Western world tend not to be organized compared to the older and more traditional groups in Kanuri society.

4. Local trade, and the market-place.

44 An attempt was made to tally the number of sellers on a
438 Geidam market day. Normally, the market is swarming with people at the height of market activity. This is particularly true in the dry season, in the months following the harvest.
[221] During October and November, when the harvest has been gathered
[191] and people can afford to buy things, and the roads are once again passable, the Geidam market reaches enormous proportions. The tally, however, was made over two market days in late August and early September. This is in the latter part of the rainy season, and the market is much smaller because of the difficulties in traveling at that time of the year, but it made it much easier to count the number of sellers present at one time. There were 1,477 sellers present in the market. People buying and the many others merely sitting around chatting or observing the scene were not included in the tally. There were prob-

[GEIDAM]

634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 177 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
554 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
• [863] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 177 554 565 871 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdiction of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the household of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send their children to the Western school as they are needed at home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, however, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

GEIDAM

1. Religious specialists.

792 872 875 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam. As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Geidam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Geidam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few 793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses which are given recognition by the traditional political authorities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

[GEIDAM]

582 from Table VI that in the Geidam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems
463 to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that
565 one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief

595 Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing
565 the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear
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[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 199]

[BEIDAN]

Table VI

Age at First Marriage

	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	...	35
Aristocracy							1		1		1		2									
Koranic Malams							1					1		1								
Canteen Traders							1		1				1	1			2					
NA Malams						2		1	1			1					1					
Kabuna				1		1	1					1		1								1
Craftsmen				1	2				1										1	1		
Talaka						3	1		1		1	1		1								
Low-status	1								1					1								
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1		1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

[GEIDAM]

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	0	1	2	3	4	concubines	Mean No. of wives
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

582 587 565 463 554 The many differences between marrying a kalə yaskə (virgin) and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length. Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalə yaskə among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Under a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalə yaskəs while the bottom four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalə yaskə at his first marriage. [189] Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

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Table VIII

Whether Marriage was with a Kalə Yaska or a Zogor

	a. Present wives		b. First wife		c. All previous wives	
	kalə yaska	zogor	kalə yaska	zogor	kalə yaska	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	—	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

[BEIDAM]

582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
587 marriages (29) were with kalə yaskəs than with zogors (14).
566
554 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
463 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
many more were with zogors (200) than with kalə yaskəs (80).
It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend overwhelmingly to marry zogors after their initial first marriage since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalə yaskəs, while eighty-one were with zogors. On the other hand, the four upper categories tend to marry kalə yaskəs more frequently than
[792] zogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Koranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalə
[163] yaskəs. This is significant because, as will be noted below, the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
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Table IX

Whether wife is secluded (kulə)

	kulə	partly kulə	not kulə
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

593 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two
562 individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound
565 but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower cate-
554 gories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives se-
463 cluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assistance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to obtain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives the total number of wives, including their present wives, to whom the members of the sample have been married. They range from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus the number of wives to which each individual is presently married (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for each individual. They range from six individuals who have never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75
586 (mean is 4.88). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-
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Table X

X a

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy		1		1			1		2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1				1								1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Talaka		2			1			1	1					1			1				1
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.5
mean = 6.4

[GEIDAB]

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X b

Number of Divorces per Person

	0	-1	-2	-3	-4	-5	-6	-7	-8	-9	-10	-11	-12	-13	-14	-15	-16	-17	-18	-19	-20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams		1	2																		
Canteen Traders		1	2		1		2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1								1					
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1					1								
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.66

[GEIDAN]

586 565 554 463 vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with zogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kalo yaskas have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

163 The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa
Number of Living Children

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	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

[BEIDAN]

Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2:	to FaYoBr after weaning to FaE1S1 after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1:	to MoMo after weaning	554
Canteen Traders	1:	to cousin after weaning	463 •
NA Malams	1:	to FaE1Br (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-		
Craftsmen	1:	to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1:	to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1:	to chibuna at age 11	
	8		

median number of children= .75

mean number of children=1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear children. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high divorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease throughout the population, and results in many sterile individuals who desperately want children. In their desire for children, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

163 163 165 [842] [164] 164 586 [842]

In particular, if they marry a zogor they are less likely to have children than if they marry a kalɔ yaskɔ. This probably accounts for the high birth rate among the Koranic Malams (one has eight children; one has five); they have all married kalɔ yaskɔs, so that neither they or their wives are likely to be infected. On the other hand, in the lower categories (kabuna, craftsmen, talaka) a majority of the individuals have had no children at all. Seven of the eight talaka have no living children. This is the group with the highest divorce rate, and when they remarry they invariably marry zogors (see Table VIII) so that the chances are high that either husband or wife will be infected and sterile.

Table XIb reveals that eight of the 57 children who survived were given away, and grew up in the household of another family. At first, this seems difficult to reconcile with the great love for children and desire to have children. However, those who have borne a child have indicated their ability to bear others. Children are frequently given to relatives who have no children of their own, and who are probably unable to bear children but want a child badly. It may be seen that children are given away to siblings of the parent, to the child's grandparent, or to the chibuna after whom the child has been named. Six of the eight were given immediately after the child was weaned; two were given away at later ages. Giving of children at later ages is related to frequent divorce. Since the child belongs to the father, he may send the child to his mother or father should he, the father, not have an adequate home at the time.

have an adequate home at the time.

Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the zagoso of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (walidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

The principles of household affiliation have been described in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual composition of forty-three households is presented. In each row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213)

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Table XIIa

Household Composition

	wives	children	tata nlima	relatives	wife's relatives	sogors	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Aristocracy	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
(minus Yerima)	1	1	2	FaSou	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
Koranic Malams	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
Canteen Traders	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	-	0	5
	2	0	-	YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
NA Malams	1 (1 chir)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

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Table XIIa (continued)

	wives	children	tata nilima	relatives	wife's relatives	sogoro	chibuna	others	yal total	household total
Kabuna	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
Craftsmen	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
Talaka	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
Low-status	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)					-	3
	1	0	-	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

[BEIDAN]

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2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table XIIb

Summary of Household Composition Table (XIIa)

Totals for 43 households:

38 Tata njima

21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi; 2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins

6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1 Wi's grandson.

7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.

6 chibuna

16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5 students; friend + Wi; 3 friend's children; student of Koranic malam.

[GEIDAM]

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	Tata Njima	Yal Members	Mean size of Total Household
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.2	3.9
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

[BEIDAM]

592 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)

586 554 463 Household composition has been broken down into the following categories: wives and children (which have already been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yal refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with married sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

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[GEIDAN]

592 households is there any indication of patrilocal residence and of a patrilocal extended family. The only approximation is found in the cases of elderly mothers living with their married sons, and in the case of married younger brothers with wife and child. More distant relatives are also found; although two cases of ElBrSo are present, in no case is there an elder brother living in the household of his younger brother, where the younger brother is the acknowledged household head. The same is true of a wife's relatives living in the household of her husband. There are six cases of this; four are younger siblings of the wife, one is her ElBrDa, and one a grandson. 592 An older sibling of the wife is nowhere present. The same pat- 586 tern is evident in the zogors who are temporarily a part of a household, after a divorce. A zogor returns to the household of her luwali. Seven zogors are present in the above households. Three are not related to the household head who served as luwali; four are relatives--a YoSi, an ElBrDa, a YoSi of the wife and a cousin.

592 Corresponding to the eight children who were given away 597 to relatives or to chibuna by the members of the sample are 565 the children given to members of the sample and growing up in 463 their houses. There are six chibuna, young children named [553] after the household head and growing up in his house, who are a part of the present group of households. Four of these are found in the canteen traders, one in the aristocracy, and one 592 (an ElBrSo) among the talaka. It is evident, therefore, that 597

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.
597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that
592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
554 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
463 XIIb) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of
[162] Table XIIb. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

567 status of slave therefore does not really exist as an important determinant in defining the place of these people within the Geidam community structure.

565 In terms of the traditional stratification system, most of the people of Geidam are talaka, neither aristocracy nor slaves.

2. Urban Social Structure.

463 The second variable, urban social structure, is much more 369 important in defining social stratification in Geidam. Most 565 Geidamites are specialists of one sort or another. In contrast to the village farming population, most of the people of Geidam make a living by practicing some special skill. They are middlemen in trade, craftsmen, religious specialists and bureaucrats in the political system. It is primarily this differentiation which defines the community as an urban community.

463 One might divide the various specialties found in the 565 community of Geidam in a number of ways. Specialties requiring manual skills might be contrasted with those requiring intellectual abilities; specialties requiring long periods of training might be grouped and compared with those requiring only a little specialized training. The approach adopted here in dividing the various specialists in the Geidam community into groups which might be compared is to look at the sphere of culture with which each of these groups of specialists is concerned. Thus there are several groups of specialists in

463 565 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. The Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

86 177 [555] The third variable which must be considered in looking at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of contact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

[GEIDAM]

177 voted to production for export today than during any previous
439 period. The roles of those involved in this external trade
433 with the Western world have changed profoundly as this aspect
of Kanuri economy grew in importance in this century.

177 Goods imported into Geidam from Western centers have
439 also affected Kanuri culture. The large quantities of cloth,
463 which represent the most important item imported, have brought
433 about the disappearance of Kanuri weaving and thus have led
[286] to the elimination of one craft group, the weavers. Other
crafts have been affected to a lesser extent by the importation of other manufactured goods (enamelware, buckets, rubber shoes) but the craftsmen as a group have continued to make and sell their products and services, without any direct influence from Western culture.

177 In similar fashion, the Geidam market shows only slight
439 signs of the effects of contact with the West, and those en-
441 gaged in trade within the market-place are little affected
443 by the contact. This is in sharp contrast to tradesmen who are involved in external trade, where the effects of contact are pronounced. Those most involved are the canteen traders who deal directly with the European trading companies in Geidam. As a result of their success in dealing with agents of the Western world, they have become an important and wealthy group in the community.

177 Lastly, Western education has had its effect on social
871 stratification. Though individuals in Geidam who have received

124 structure as described in the closing section of the previous chapter.

They are as follows:

124 565 463 1. Aristocracy - a small social group, functioning largely within the area of political organization. Five members of this group were chosen for study.

[792] 2. Koranic Malams - a social category, functioning largely within the area of religion. Some internal structuring occurs within this category. Three members were chosen for study.

[941] 3. Canteen Traders - a social category, functioning largely within the area of economics. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 4. NA Malams - a social category, but since it is small in size and because its members, having much in common, tend to interact, it has certain group characteristics. It functions largely in the area of political organization. Six members of this category were chosen for study.

[634] 5. Kabuna - a social group functioning largely within the area of political organization. Six members of this group were chosen for study.

5. Craftsmen - a large social category, encompassing many types of craft specialists who form groups within the general category. The craftsmen function largely in the area of economics. Six members were chosen for study.

7. Talaka - an extremely large and heterogeneous social cate-

gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet perform some non-skilled activity in addition to farming. Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

8. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

Table XIII

List of Individuals Making up the Sample

115 565 463 551 124	1. Aristocracy: (6)	Yerima Mustapha-	Ajia of Geidam.
		Lowan Ashek-	A Lowan of Geidam.
		Lowan Kagu-	A former Lowan of Geidam.
		Malam Jalo-	An NA appointee in charge of the ferry; had been offered a Lowanship but refused it.
		Sidi Momon-	Nephew of Yerima; an NA Messenger.
[792]	2. Koranic Malams: (3)	Liman Bashir-	Liman Zomabe of Geidam (leads Friday prayers).
		Liman Habib-	Liman Ngumeribe of Geidam (leads prayers on religious holidays).
		Malam Baba Gonyi-	a Malam attached to Yerima's household.
[441]	3. Canteen Traders: (6)	Alhaji Malam Modu Karabima-	a dealer in hides and skins who buys for a European trading company.
		Malam Momon Gordo-	operator of a canteen dealing in cloth.
		Alhaji Amadu Kolon-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Abacha Modu-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
		Alhaji Bukar Dan Alkali-	a dealer in kola nuts and cattle.
		Alhaji Shetima-	operator of a canteen, and a dealer in groundnuts.
[634]	4. NA Malams: (6)	Malam Ali Mandara-	Chief Scribe of Geidam.
		Malam Bulama-	Treasurer of Geidam.
		Malam Kasem-	Veterinary official.
		Malam Maidugu-	Head-master of the primary school in Geidam.
		Malam Ali Malami-	Dispenser.
		Malam Bulama-	Agricultural expert.

Table XIII (continued)

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5. Kabuna: (6)	Wakil Guloma-	one of the important kabuna.
	Bukar Gubio-	a minor kabuna.
	Grema Momon-	a young kabuna of intermediary rank.
	Wakil Ali Geje-	Yerima's assistant; head of all the kabuna.
	Bukar Bultuawu-	a minor kabuna.
	Kangadi-	one of the important kabuna.
6. Craftsmen: (6)	Malam Chiari Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Kazala Modu Katima-	a house builder and repairer.
	Mustapha Alima-	a dyer.
	Malam Modu Kolidama-	a leather-worker.
	Modu Kolidama (the younger)-	a leather-worker.
	Bukar Wanzama-	a barber.
7. Taleka: (8)	Adamu-	a taberma who sells in the market-place.
	Momadu Farashama-	a sewer of horse-blankets sold in the market-place.
	Malam Shani-	a laborer who works for one of the European trading companies.
	Malam Gumbo-	a seller of gowns in the market-place.
	Tijani-	a fatkema who sells in the market-place.
	Ali Goroma-	a retail seller of kola nuts in the market-place.
	Lowan Limami-	a low level retainer of the Ajia's who does not have a horse.
	Baba Mainta-	a dealer in almost anything for a commission.

Table XIII (continued)

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8. Low-status individuals:

(4)	Bukar Mandalma-	a tanner.
	Yahuda Gundama-	a praise-singer and drummer.
	Mastapha Mandalma-	a tanner.
	Abdu Gurzam-	a butcher.

Total: 44 individuals.

177 consistent with their desire to educate their children in West-
634 ern schools.

Since the group of Kabuna are a part of the political organization, they are able to realize the advantages of certain behavioral alternatives introduced by contact. Though they themselves do not interact with agents of Western culture, and are consequently not a very acculturated group, they show a degree of acculturation in their attitudes towards Western medicine and education. Their own aspirations are traditional but they favor Western education for their children, presumably because Western education is a factor in present day political advancement, and they favor Western aspirations for their sons. They appear to be a stable group according to the proposed criteria.

177 6. Craftsmen. The Craftsmen are the most consistently un-
463 acculturated group of the eight. Though their responses do not indicate extreme degrees of conservatism, they are remarkably consistent in their choice of unacculturated responses. They are less likely to fast than other groups (Item 20), and they state that they would visit a European doctor (Item 22), though they prefer Kanuri treatment to European treatment for 4 of the 6 diseases. They are close to the mid-point for all three items dealing with education (Items 32-34), and themselves show a very slight preference for Western occupations (35) though their aspirations for their sons are strongly in the direction of traditional Kanuri occupations (36). They are slightly more per-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 352]

2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Table XIV

ACCULTURATION PROFILE OF THE CHAPTERS

unacculturated responses — acculturated responses

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1. knowledge of Hausa
2. knowledge of English
3. other languages
4. write in English script
5. write in Arabic script

6. has watch
7. has bicycle
8. has radio
9. has photographs
10. has horse

11. rides bicycle
12. can tell time
13. usefulness of watch
14. bicycle more useful
15. rather own bicycle

16. smoke cigarettes
17. drink beer
18. wear Eur. shoes
19. wear Eur. trousers

20. fast at Yaure Kbule
21. wear charms

22. visit Eur. doctor
23. prefer Eur. medicine
24. Eur.- bone setting
25. Eur.- jaundice
26. Eur.- snake bite
27. Eur.- head ache
28. Eur.- small pox
29. Eur.- internal pain

30. would go to court

31. place conditions on charity

32. send Sn to school
33. send son to school
34. prefer school to Koran

35. prefer Western occupations
36. Western aspirations for son

37. marry a non-Kanuri
38. marry a Hausa
39. marry a Fulani
40. marry a Kabur
41. marry a Yoruba
42. marry an educated woman
43. permit wife to work

missive about allowing their wives to work (43).

463 Not only do the Craftsmen present the fewest number of acculturated responses (6 in all), but in items where they do show themselves to be acculturated the response is not marked. One might therefore say that they are the most stably unacculturated group of all.

177 7. Talaka. The most striking feature about the Talaka
565 profile is the way in which it remains close to the baseline. The most extreme response is that concerning possession of a horse (10) which is not diagnostic of degree of acculturation. No other response exceeds a value of 32. This is true of no other profile. Excluding the three items that are not indicative of degree of acculturation, 20 items fall on the unacculturated side, and 19 fall on the acculturated side (one is at the mid-point). But for no less than 12 items the response is within a value of 4 from the mid-point--in other words the degree of deviation from the mid-point is of no significance for those items.

The group of Talaka cannot be characterized as generally acculturated or generally unacculturated. They are like the Canteen Operators in this respect, but unlike the canteen operators they are not an inconsistent group. Their responses do not swing wildly from acculturated to unacculturated and within each behavioral area they tend to be consistent. They are unacculturated with respect to language and to the possession of material goods. They are slightly acculturated in their attitudes towards these items, though at no point do they show ex-

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 354]

*177 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected important Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though 634 156 they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming deviants. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 • 463 [BSH] The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an unacculturated and stable group. Their primary role requires highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

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*177 • 463 though consistently in the unacculturated direction, are not strongly conservative. They are a consistent, though not an exaggeratedly, conservative group, and in some areas (medical treatment, education) they appear receptive to change. The Craftsmen are a group whose position within Kanuri society has led to a minimum of interaction with agents of Western culture, so that they have remained an unacculturated and stable group. This situation, too, may change if: (a) Western technology is introduced and alters traditional Kanuri craft techniques while retaining the craftsmen themselves, or, (b) imported Western goods begin to compete more directly with the goods and services produced by the Craftsmen. In either instance, one would predict that the Craftsmen would begin to show a higher degree of acculturation and a loss in stability as a group.

*177 441 The Canteen Operators are an intermediary group in their degree of acculturation and the most unstable group which was studied. Many of the inconsistencies in the behavior of the Canteen Operators seem to be explained in terms of hypothesis 3. Unlike the NA Malams who themselves derive from the Aristocracy, or from households of traditional political leaders, the Canteen Operators as a group derive from the Talaka. They have risen most rapidly in the accumulation of wealth, and through their newly acquired wealth they have sought to achieve power and prestige. Because of the rapid changes in their status, their roles are not as clearly defined as the roles of

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[For information on occupational specialization associated with particular ethnic minorities and non-Kanuri groups, see category 563.]

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

175 692 693 [645] whom appeals could be made to the high court in the capital. The keeper of the records or scribe of the high court, the Talba was considered the third most important person in the kingdom. It is said that this high court plus its scribe served as a council to the king in the affairs of state because of its members' knowledge in matters of law and religion.

175 692 643 [631] When the Birni dynasty fell in the 19th century, Shehu Laminu served as the highest judge in the land, thus bringing political and judicial functions even more closely together in the state. He kept the idea of an appeal court and local courts but did much of the high court adjudication himself. The relation of the temporal judiciary and its religious practitioners is illustrated by a European traveller's account in the 1820's,(1) who records that local judges' decisions could be reversed by the high court or the local political resident.

175 182 463 [44] The presence of a large upper class and a royal court with its patterns of specialized consumption, the uneven distribution of intensive cropping and craft production localities, the contacts with North Africa and to a lesser extent the western Sudan, for the last 1000 years, have all acted as conditions supporting the differentiation of labour in Bornu. This has produced the idea and the physical reality of the market.

175 439 Trade has been a well organized aspect of the society for centuries. A complex system of distribution and production through the markets was observed by the first travellers in the area. Grain was dispatched to Bilma up in the desert in return for salt. This trade so tied the people of Bilma to Bornu that even today when the trade has been much reduced, they still feel themselves very closely allied to the Kanuri. Natron from Lake Chad was taken to Kano and from there traded all over coastal West Africa.

(1) Denham, D. and Clapperton, H. op. cit. p.23

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642 most useful institution, in terms of survival, was the organization of a feudal state. Under the king, the nobility had their own fiefs which validated their status in the state and insured their all-important military cooperation. It was indicated in the chapter that this kind of organization has been used historically in Bornu for incorporating entire tribes into the Kanuri state, if such was desirable.

The major point, however, is the legacy of the state organization which the historical development of Kanuri feudalism has maintained. [701] A well ordered and easily expandable war machine for the offensive and defensive policies of the state was a primary result of the feudal organ- [692] ization. Once these structural principles were in operation, taxation [652] and a hierarchical political and judicial system became possible and operative over a wide territory.

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633 The presence of a capital city with a large administrative
463 and military class served as a stimulus for the specialization of labour.
433 This body of people was an ever-ready market for the sale of surplus
439 subsistence produce and a wide range of specialized manufactured materials of local and imported origin, which in turn stimulated trade and the development of the market from the very earliest days of the kingdom.

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642 Another of the contributory strengths of Kanuri feudalism in terms of survival was its flexibility, that is to say, its ability to expand and contract from the center. As long as the nucleus of a court and a monarch remained, no harm was done to its continued existence. Feudalism is a segmentary corporate structure; if the top remains, including the idea of its centrality and paramount position in the conception of the state, then the expansion and contraction of the state itself bears no relation whatsoever to its survival. Segments may break off, others may join on, but as long as there remains the tangible concept of some-

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out of a very highly taxed District.(1) The net result was a high turn over in chiefs both at the District and village level, through the utilisation by the British of their powers of deposition of chiefs, and a continuation of Kanuri rather than British concepts of taxation.

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In 1914, a new Resident took over the province and began to strengthen the Emirate political structure at its center.(2) He instituted a Shehu's council with a Wazir as its head, and issued instructions that no European officer was to give direct instructions to District Heads. All directives were to be made through the Shehu and his council. This council, starting originally with two members, grew steadily in size and function. By the late 1940's it resembled a kind of local cabinet with the Wazir as its head under the titular headship of the Shehu and with each member having at least one portfolio. That is to say, the members of this Council have come more and more to function as the heads of civil service departments.

All African political organization, both traditional and introduced, was called the Native Administration by Lugard and his followers and the Emirate departments of works, forestry, education, veterinary services, etc., were dubbed the N.A. departments, for that particular Emirate. This distinguished them from the government provincial departments who administered and guided the policies and actions of all the N.A.'s in the province.

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The newly introduced European governmental services demanded some degree of western education and trained clerks from other parts of Nigeria were brought into Bornu to fill the host of small jobs which were necessary to a growing administration.

(1) In the Mobber, Ceidam, Magumeri and Nganzai District Notebooks, notations have been made throughout the colonial period of complaints by peasants who reported that they had moved from one district to another because of excessive taxation.

(2) In 1914, the British swiftly and with little opposition took over the German Cameroons, half of which were ceded to them after the War.

605 play with his patrilateral cousins. As in the matrilateral case, if ego changes his joking-wife, the jiu joking relationships shift also in association with the change. That is to say, these joking relationships may change in their personnel from time to time, but are ordered in relation to the adult marriage rules in each separate situation.

(184) Although no attempt was made to measure class differences in the cousin joking relationships, it should be noted here that several informants claimed that the above joking relations were "unbecoming" for good proper behaviour and they did not practise such customs.

567 Outside the kinship system a joking relationship may hold between a master and his slave, although this is usual only when the slave is an entertainer of some kind. Informants denied that it occurred when the slave is merely serving his master in an ordinary work situation. Amongst the various occupations, joking
571 463 relations obtain between smiths and butchers; barber-doctors and smiths; mallams (koranic teacher-priests) and hunters; kola-nut wholesalers and retailers; dyers and tailors; a builder of mud houses and his labourers; a fire-wood seller and his customers;
614 648 pepper sellers and kola-nut wholesalers. Joking relations also hold between clans such as Ngala'a and Magumi; Nguna and Tera; Kuburi and Tera; Su'urti and Kuburi; or between ethnic groups like Shuwa and Kanuri; Kurdi and Shuwa; Hausa and Fulani; Kanuri and Fulani; Tubu and Monga; Monga and Bedde; Kanembu and Wasili (Arabs).

571 602 In the above relationships which seem in all cases to cover an area of interrelations involving potential conflicts, the

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilateral emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Bornu in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by [587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his [554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

882 lack of achieved skill in some area of behaviour. This extension of the term for child into adolescence must not be mistaken for the European cultural trait of confusing childhood and adulthood in the adolescent period. It refers not just to a lack of skill, but more generally to a lack of power and authority, and in this sense can be utilized to describe anyone until he is an old man. In this context the term is applied to mean that in some particular manner the person is like a small boy in relation to others around him, i.e. he must defer to them. People do not find this unnatural and even middle aged men may refer to themselves as tada gana (small boy).(1)

883 From the time of true physiological puberty onward, the boy associates more and more with other young zairo and takes part more or less freely in the banter of age-mates, and those slightly older. These young boys go to markets, play together, discuss local gossip and politics, and often joke about possible and actual nocturnal [833] adventures with women. On this last point, boys generally receive their first sexual experiences after puberty from divorced women who may vary in age anywhere from fifteen to fifty. More often that not, it is reported that the first experiences are with older women because of the competition for the younger sexually accessible females, (i.e. those who are divorced). Like young men everywhere they discuss the merits of various occupations, the desirability of rural or urban life, but also speak to one another at great length about the qualities of various "big men" (kam kura) in Bornu, and the benefits received by their followers. Today, boys also learn to smoke cigarettes, gamble and to drink intoxicating liquors during this period.

882 463 _____ A primary function of this age status for adolescent boys

(1) See below, p. 174.

882 is occupational choice and training. For most boys the choice is
463 determined by the elders of the household in which they are living or by the economic specialization in their own quarter of town or hamlet. One youth, whose father is a small salt retailer and a farmer, lives in a quarter where many of the household heads are dyers. He has been apprenticed by his father to one of the dyer households in order to learn the trade. In general and especially for rural areas, sons in a household are expected to take up the occupation of the household head.

This should not be thought of, however, as a system in which the young boy merely complies with the wishes of his elders. There is much evidence to show that some degree of personal freedom is involved in occupational choice. For example, a butcher's son remarked that, despite his father's wishes, he would never be a butcher and was planning to learn his Fa-Bro occupation of hides and skins trader. This is especially true today if the young boy is sent to the city to stay with a relative while learning a craft. The plethora of new and different occupations in the city may attract the young man and lead him to make his own decisions about his occupation.

274 There is an apprenticeship system for learning occupations
882 which varies in length depending upon the age of the boy, the socio-economic status of the occupation, and the relationship between the boy and the craftsman. As boys become older they expect their apprenticeship times to be shortened, whereas the earlier an apprenticeship is begun the longer the period of training. However, even in the case of a twenty-two year old, a two to three year period is not uncommon. Again, if the occupation has a higher status and/or pecuniary return,

554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witch-
829 craft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed
[789] to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mallams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is
829 not their own, and then they give the money to
441 the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent — it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.

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[558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation. This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
[775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
[167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

3: Cohen E-4,5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

000 555 871 in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri. It is recognised, especially in the upper ranks of society and among the urban masses, that some western education is a prerequisite for successful advancement in political offices and in the civil service in general. Because the government educational system is not entirely controlled by the existing Kanuri office-holders it has proved to be a method of recruitment into high status positions that allows for a certain measure of social mobility.(1) One informant, the eldest son of a deceased District Head, is related to the royal family of Bornu. His fondest wish is to be appointed some day to the position of District Head which he feels is his birthright. But he has no formal western education, knows very little Hausa, and therefore has very little chance of ever achieving this aspiration.

463 571 With the expansion of all governmental services since the end of World War II, there has developed a large group of young civil servants, all of them western educated to some extent, and in varying degrees, who are referred to by the local British as "the mallams" or "the young mallams".(2) They are the clerks, agricultural field assistants, teachers, sanitary inspectors, veterinary assistants, 571 [212] medical dispensers, etc. They read newspapers in Hausa and English, own radios, wrist watches, socks, European made shoes, bicycles, and

871 563 (1) That there is still much control exerted is illustrated by the school-boy population in Maiduguri which was used for questionnaire purposes by the writer. Of the 168 boys in the secondary and the senior primary schools, 21 were of the Babur tribe; of the 21 Babur boys, only two were (by their own admission) in the secondary school, while 19 were in the senior primary. The Kanuri majority has less control over the students from the districts who are chosen to attend the central urban senior primary school than they do over who is to receive promotion from senior primary to secondary school. In such a discriminatory atmosphere, many non-Kanuri youngsters change their names to more Kanuri-sounding ones.

(2) cf. Leith-Ross, S., The Development of a Middle Class in the Federation of Nigeria. Paper delivered at the 29th Session of the International Institute of Differing Civilisations in London, September 1955.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Berms political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

125 463 554 In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wazirl indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

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463 554 184 Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

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TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys *

School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Wazirl of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Wazirl of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H. to-day) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaigama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

3: Cohen E-4.5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kanuri MS14

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School:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader(with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building contractor	28.80	11.1	30	N.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building contractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.8
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9.4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horsedservant	38.62	6.1
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

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Schools:	Senior Primary (younger)			Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	*42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

* Using Spearman's rank order correlation (Rho) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).

** The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

S: Cohen E-4.5 (1956-1957) 1960 MS14 Kenneth MS14

463 554 184 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows, of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush districts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older than for younger boys).

178 463 554 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried appointments, such as Shehu, Wasiri, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head, have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but traditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant of a chief, or Kachella Shehube (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army) have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give official support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because 178 463 554 184 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.

TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status Occupations

	Ranking	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a tendency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

178 ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In
• 463 their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th
554 place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The
[184] main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

128 For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides
463 the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from
554 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

463 It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that (1)
554 young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than
[171] in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

(1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

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er boys, 32nd on the list. This is in accord with the general high value placed on farm ownership and farm production, not farm labour. It is good to have a farm, and this means then that you are a farmer, but it is even better if you can have a labourer or some of your followers work the land for you. Thus farming is not contradictory with high status, only farm labour. The following table summarizes these comparisons.

TABLE VIII

Prestige of White Collar and Manual Labour Occupations

Kind of job		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
White collar jobs	high	11.9	11.9
Manual labour (European type jobs)	middle	26.9	28.9
Manual labour (Kanuri type jobs)	low	34.1	43.3

The final comparison to be made from the table is that between self-employed as against non-self-employed European occupations. The following table indicates the ranking which these two differently organized sets of occupational roles are given by the schoolboy population. It should be remembered that it is this group among the total population who, more than any others, have open to them the possibility of western type jobs.

TABLE IX

Prestige of the Employment Relations in European Jobs

Kinds of employment relations		Ranking Younger	Ranking Older Boys
Western jobs non-self-employed	high	11.1	14.4
" " self-employed	middle	27.4	27.2

The results indicate that self-employment as it is known by the Kanuri is less highly evaluated than its opposite. Certainly this is a result of the fact that all high status European (and Kanuri) occupa-

463 554 tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

554 Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a par- [613] ticular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from [428] the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

554 602 Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it, one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community [123] is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

554 602 [156] lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, disreputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whispered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a blacksmith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 602 554 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime.(1) There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants. [178] [648] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly creating a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The advantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society. [871] [369] Consequehtly, a large proportion of the young western educated group are sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in the large urban centre. 565 463 602 At the peasant level many of the craft workers in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these industries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952) pp. 494-504.

565 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities
463 during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry sea-
602 son activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, conniving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization, [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good thing while moving down the status grades is explained as kwanzike (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circumstances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be preserved, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both before and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a [558] good mallam, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which modify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in time.

Wealth

556 The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth. This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galàbu

462 Men rule, farm, dye, build, work metals, skin, tan and work leather, slay and handle cattle and small livestock, tailor, embroider, make hats, musical instruments, trade, weave mats, and work as labourers. [463] [177] They are also religious specialists, carpenters, mechanics, clerks, civil servants and a host of newly introduced jobs of European origin, as well as being the taxpayers. It is no exaggeration to say 562 592 that the economy is controlled by men. The male head of the household dispenses all income in cash and in kind resulting from farming and craft work. (Women's gardens are not farms but small plots inside the compound). The male doles out money to his wives for petty market buying and does the major purchases of food grains and clothing himself. He also pays for ceremonies, transportation and most of the gift-giving 562 done by himself and the members of his household. Except for pottery 323 production by female specialists, men control all income producing craft work in the society as well as all the major distributive functions.

423 Almost all rural household heads own some land in or near their hamlet or village. Land ownership results from a combination of usufruct and inheritance rights and is related as well to the local political organization. These factors are discussed in more detail in the section below on operating costs. Many urban people obtain rural farms from relatives in the bush or retain plots of land in rural areas after having moved to the city. This latter group sends out either relatives or labourers to work the land. In some cases the household head moves out from the city to bush for the necessary working period required to tend the farm.

241 Rural peasants work their own land. The men clear the land and are helped in the planting, hoeing and reaping by their wives, and/ 000 or other compound members. Another source of labour is the <u>Serwa</u> (co-

47% Another source of labour is the serwa (co-operative work group). This is composed of a group of relatives, friends, and neighbours, not necessarily of the same age group. They help one another to farm, fix or build houses, repair compound walls and other jobs requiring collective effort. These serwa are easily joined and as easily left and may have a long or short life depending upon the interest of the members in obtaining such a labour source.

241 464 For the upper classes and urban farm owners, labourers (usually pagan) are always available during the growing season. Many of these are local pagans living in Bornu, others are migrant labourers who have come to Bornu during the growing season to obtain their cash income for taxes.(1)

251 When the crop is harvested, food grains are taken from their stalks and stored in underground pits. Although the Kanuri utilize some aboveground storage shelters, underground storage is more widespread.

43 The cash crop (groundnuts) is sold to middlemen (sent to the bush during the harvest season to buy for traders in the city). Surplus producers of food crops store their harvest and visit markets for the rest of the year selling their produce. In Magumeri, two-thirds of the cultivators questioned in the survey were only semi-subsistence farmers. Part but not all of this is made up of income from the cash crop. Thus most people who farm have some other income-producing activity which makes up for the fact that they do not grow enough food or cash crop to maintain themselves for an entire year.

463 829 Craft production includes such occupations as butcher, blacksmith, potter, entertainer, leather worker, native doctor, hunter, dyer, lorry driver, mechanic, bricklayer. This is the Kanuri way of viewing

(1) See Kirke-Greene, A.H.M., Tax and Travel Among the Hill-Tribes of Northern Adamawa, Africa, Vol. 26, No. 4 (1956) pp. 355-369.

463 crafts, that is to lump services such as native doctor with manufac-
829 turing such as pottery making. Recruitment into a craft is carried on
874 by an apprenticeship system. In return for learning the craft, the apprentice serves his senior and gives him some or all of his earnings
874 during the training period. New occupations such as carpenter or lorry
178 driver, which do not require literacy, have utilized the apprentice system of recruitment. On the other hand, in western jobs requiring literacy and other kinds of schooling the apprentice system is at a minimum.

467 Traditional craft workers in Bornu are organized by occupation under head men in each village area and each city. Today the Maiduguri head of a craft has the highest status of local craft heads in Bornu, but his few privileges hardly extend beyond the capital. Nevertheless, rural heads of crafts who visit Maiduguri should still render nona (pay their respects) to the Maiduguri head of their sanya (occupation). Informants everywhere agreed that not only local craft heads but all craft members should do the same, although this latter prescription seems to be more honoured in the breach. Local heads all over Bornu do, however, have some special privileges. Thus in the larger centres of Maiduguri, Geidam, Nguru, and Gashua, the head butcher has one day a week (not the traditional market day) on which his meat alone is sold. In Magumeri, the head butcher gets a small commission on all skins sold by Magumeri butchers to the hides and skins buyers.

433 The household group in Bornu cannot produce all the things
438 it requires in its consumption patterns. The needs of a specialized and semi-specialized population are satisfied through the operation of a highly organized system of interlocking market cycles. This system is described in detail in the section on trade.

438 and also produce "ready-to-wear" clothes for the market. He gives them
294 a place to sleep, their food, clothing, and spending money and keeps the return on their labour. They each hope one day to have machines of their own.

439 Unlike food production, Bornu crafts have never been totally self-sufficient. There has always been an import trade which brought into the State either raw materials, e.g. iron for the blacksmiths, or finished products like paper, textiles, or glass beads from beyond Bornu. Furthermore, there has always been competition between locally manufactured articles and those from other places in the region of the western Sudan and elsewhere. Trade between Kano and Bornu has made the Kanuri knife an accepted part of Kano's material culture, while leather work
438 from Kano can be seen all over Bornu. On a more local level, in the Maguneri market, craft work from other centres almost always finds its
178 way into the local market to compete with locally produced items. In
[438] recent years this competition has resulted in the practical obliteration of the indigenous production of cloth, because of the universal
[49] adoption of imported textiles. Donkeys and camels decline as media of transport as a direct function of the establishment of roads and regu-
[256] lar lorry routes. If milling of grain by machine spreads, then the man-
[322] ufacture of wooden mortars and pestles to pound grain decreases accord-
[463] ingly. But this is not a one-sided affair. Cultural and social change bring new "crafts" such as motor mechanics, carpentry, lorry driving, commishana (commission men), who collect the fees for the lorry drivers at the various stations.

434 The following table shows the degree to which craft workers and other occupational groups depend upon non-agricultural activities for their annual income in cash and kind.

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TABLE XIV

Table of Average Non-agricultural Income for 75 Cultivators #

Occupation	Annual income from non-agricultural pursuits (pounds sterling)	% of total annual income in cash and kind
Farmers	0	0
Craftsmen	31	43
Traders	44	67
Political and Religious Specialists	55	84

[128]

These annual figures are constructed from estimates made by each respondant in answer to questions concerning his earnings per week, (a) in the dry season, (b) in the wet season. The percentages are calculated by adding the figures in this table to those obtained for crop production after converting crop figures to cash values.

Increase or decreases in income from non-agricultural pursuits were reported by 26 (34%) of the sample. The reasons given for such changes are shown below.

TABLE XV

loss or gain of tada njima per household	16
sickness	3
better or worse income from membership in an extended household organization	2
loss or gain in wives	2
raise in salary (N.A.)	1
a new wholesale source or loss of an old one	3
	26

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The table on income indicates what degree of specialization away from sedentary agriculture various segments of the Kanuri population have achieved. Craft workers, it should be noted, are slightly more dependent upon agriculture than craft work, while trader, political and religious specialists are much more dependent upon non-agricultural activities for their incomes. This means that the crop producers

434 in Bornu are made up primarily of full time farmers and semi-subsistence
463 farmers who practise craft work as well.

434 Sixty per cent of the changes in income reported are the
571 result of the acquisition or loss of tada njima. Apprentices are included in this category since they are subordinate to the household head. Thus the number of subordinates in a Kanuri household is a primary correlate of its economic rise or decline. Other reasons given are
434 fairly self-evident. Loss or gain in wives is much less a factor in
595 non-agricultural income. The only exceptions to this rule are the husbands of some (not all) potters whose wives give them a weekly cash income from the sale of pots. In the two cases listed above, both men report that an extra wife has freed them from some agricultural duties thus giving them more time for trade in one case, and craft work
434 in the other. In the two cases of income change due to membership in
571 an extended household organization, both these men are subordinate members of a Lawan's extended household. The loss or gain of new wholesale sources is treated in more detail in the discussion below on trade.

433 The following cases, taken from two of the budgets of Maguneri craft workers, illustrate the scale of production in rural Bornu which has been described above.

Ka'anami, the calabash maker

592 Ka'anami lives in a compound with four other people: his wife and infant daughter, his full younger brother, and his father's sister, an old woman. The compound, although fully enclosed, is next door to and opens into the compound of Ka'anami's father. Dolo, the younger brother, grows a cash crop and makes a few calabashes from time to time. The old woman, Palmatta, makes pots and cooks her own food. Dolo eats with his older brother, his father, or is given food by the old woman.

231 Mala Bukar, the butcher

463 The butcher's craft, although comparatively lucrative, is a low status occupation. It requires technical skills and social relations beyond the tribe. Manual and anatomical knowledge of butchery is learned during the apprenticeship period, often referred to as "taking up the knife". The craft also requires continuous relations with cattle owners, who supply the raw material for the work. Since cows are primarily kept by Fulani and Shuwa nomads, this requires inter-tribal relations for the butcher with the cattle people. Sheep and goats are kept locally and sold generally by their keepers to one of the several local butchers.

592 Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child, aged about three, and two tada njima (sons of the house, in this case, apprentices). There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for himself, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both sons of butchers unrelated but known to Mala Bukar. They explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down in their home towns as butchers. One seemed much surer of returning eventually to his father's household than the other. They treat Mala Bukar with as much respect as they would a real biological father, but seem to have a somewhat more open discussion with him of their sexual life than sons who live at home.

423 Mala Bukar has inherited some farmland with the kulo fatobe area (the near or house farm area). He also has a plot further out in the kulo karabe area (far or bush farm area). In addition, his apprentices are clearing (1956) a new plot in the bush farm area which is to replace a depleted one next year. The apprentices are also clearing

241 small plots of their own at the same time on which they hope to grow cash crops. In 1955, Mala Bukar obtained ten bags of millet and three of groundnuts. Cash value of this crop at prevailing prices is £20.0.0.

241 592 Mala Bukar does no actual farm work himself. His apprentices and wives (never working together at the same time and place, plant, hoe and harvest his crop. He does give some directions at the beginning of these operations and he decides on the planting and harvesting dates. The apprentices make the farm work of the wives less essential in this case than is usual. This gives these women a great deal more free time, especially in the wet season, than almost any other married women in town, with the exception of the head dyer's wives. This man also has several apprentices. Mala Bukar's wives spend their productive energies in cooking, bringing water for the household, and selling the hooves of slaughtered animals which their husband gives them as a source of private income for themselves.

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231 463 461 [443] Since Mala Bukar's work schedule is ti[illegible] the availability of animals for slaughter, it appears at first [illegible]ce to have a random quality. Exceptions to this are his rigid adherence to Friday as a day of prayer, or at least, no slaughter, and Sunday which is the Magumeri market day. However, he may butcher a sheep or a goat on the spot on Sunday if the selling is brisk and animals are to be had. Trips to other markets in the vicinity are dependent upon his immediate stocks of meat, and upon what he hears about demand at other markets.

231 463 435 434 For six months of the year he deals only in sheep and goats (this is not true of butchers at larger centres, where many people can afford beef). One goat costs from 31/- to 40/- and he prepares and sells on the average four per week, at a profit of 2/- to 4/- each, i.e. an average profit of 3/- each or 12/- per week. Sheep cost him usually

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463 from 20/- to 30/-, and he claimed that his return on a sheep was the
435 same as that on a goat. Since he sells about two of these per week
434 during the dry season, we can estimate his sheep profit at 6/- per week. Thus for the six months of the year when the nomads are not in the Magumeri vicinity, Mala Bukar gets a cash income from meat sales of approximately 18/- per week (£23.0.0.).

When selling the hides of these animals, he received 1/6d. to 2/- per goat hides and 2/- to 4/- for a sheep skin. Using the above figures and taking median prices, we can calculate an additional income of £12.0.0. for this period.

For the other six months, around the rainy season, when the cattle nomads come north, he kills very few sheep and goats, but butchers about four to six cows per week at a profit of 10/- to 12/- per cow. Taking median values this gives him an approximate income from this activity of £71.0.0. The hides from this work bring between 4/- and 7/6d. per skin and Mala Bukar felt that 5/6d. was the price he most often received. This gives an approximate income of £36.0.0. for cowhide per year. He also received about 1/- per week "commission" because of his role as head butcher, from the sale of hides belonging to other Magumeri butchers (i.e. £3.0.0. per year). This estimation of Mala Bukar's annual craft work puts its total value to him at about £167.0.0.

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[452] However, he does not actually take in all this income as cash earnings. Many people take meat from him on credit, and others come round when he is killing an animal and beg some gratis. He complained of this loss and asked the writer repeatedly to take it into account when calculating annual sales and profits. He felt that if he could have in cash value the amount of meat he was not paid for, either

considered in some detail.

563 The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have very little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

463 Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord
554 to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entrepreneurial or self-employed occupational future.

554 Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.

4: Cohen E-5 (1956-1957) 1961
MS14 Kanuri MS14

turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kantuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.